www.kotobarabia.com



النظم السياسية العربية قضايا الاستمرار والتغيير

د. علي الدين هلال د. نيفين مسعد

النظم السياسية العربية قضايا الاستمرار والتغيير

د. علي الدين هلال د. نيفين مسعد

طبقا لقوانين الملكية الفكرية

جميع حقوق النشر و التوزيع الالكتروني لمذا المصنف محفوظة لكتب عربية. يحظر نقل أو إعادة بيع اى جزء من خذا المصنف و بثه الكترونيا (عبر الانترنت أو للمكتبات الالكترونية أو الاقراص المحجة أو اى وسيلة أخرى) دون الحصول على إذن كتابي من كتب عربية. حقوق الطبع الو رقى محفوظة للمؤلف أو ناشره طبقا للتعاقدات السارية.



التأصيل لمفهوم النظم السياسية العربية

-		
-	-	:
-		:
-		:
	الفصل الثاني	
	بيئة النظم السياسية العربية	
-		:
-		:
_		:
-		
_		



()

()

:

```
Ai H. Dessouki, "Globalization and the Two Spheres of Security," Washington Quarterly (Autumn ), pp. – ; Anthony G. McGrew and Paul G. Lewis, Global Politicis: Globalization and the Nation-state (Cambridge [England): Polity Press; Oxford [England); Cambridge, M A.: Blackwell Publishers, );
```

:)

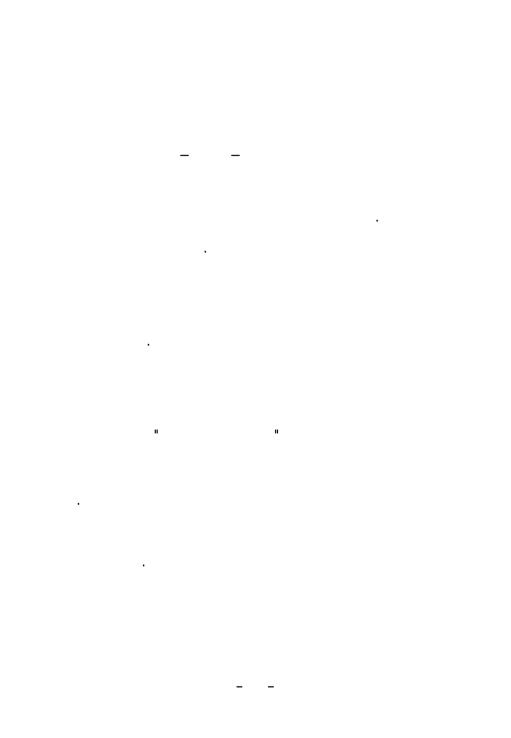
_

. 11 11

; (

:) – – –

- : :)



وبالله التوفيق،،،

مُتَكُلُّمُتُهُ

п

() n

.(

) () . ()

:

() . - (:) : ()

:) . – (

" : " "

.

п п

· :

· - -

" :

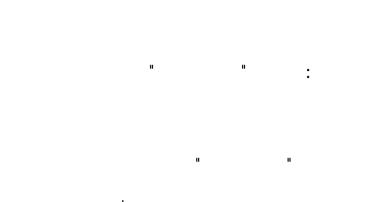
.

.

.

.()

. - (:)



. II

.

.

•

•

()

.

•

الفصل الأول

التأصيل

لمفهوم النظم السياسية العربية



• () .()

.

() n

.

.

.

: ()

:)

II .()

. (/)

: : . .) (.

```
.()
     ) "
                                                   ( )
Bahgat Korany and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, (
eds., The Foreign Policies of Arab States (Boulder,
             CO: Westview Press,
                                       ), p.
```

.() .() " ()) () 11 11

.()

)"(–)

) .(() :)

.

.`'

.

: . ()

:) . – (

.()

: " " ()

. /

) (() :

Michael P. Todora, Economic Development in the ()
Third World, th ed. (new York: Longman,),
p. , and
: "

.

.()

()

.()

International Monetary Fund [IMF), International ()

```
World Economic Outlook (Washington, DC: IMF,
), pp. - .
: ()
```

. ()

:

.

·

()

_ _

()

```
Leonard Binder: ()

[et al.), Crises and Sequences in Political

Development, Studies in Political Development;

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, );

Ian Roxborough, Theories of Underdevelopment,

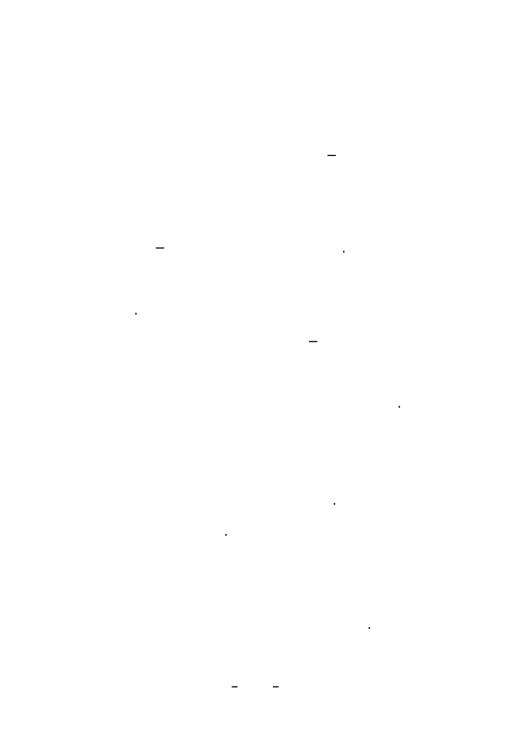
Critical Social Studies (Atlantic Highlands, NJ:

Humanities Press, ).

: ":

) "

.(
```

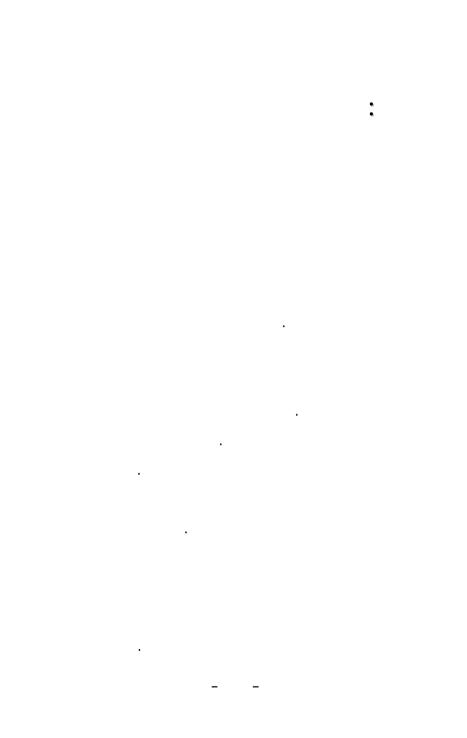


.() () .(



• • . •) (.

.()



: - - - - - - ... - ... - ... - ... - ... - ... - - - ...



п п

. . .

·

_ _

.() " ()

```
Paul Noble, "The : - (

Arab System Opportunities, Constraints and pressures," in: Korany and Dessouki, eds., The Foreign Plicies of Arab States, p. .

" ()
: "
```

()

.() -:) . (() .()



() u

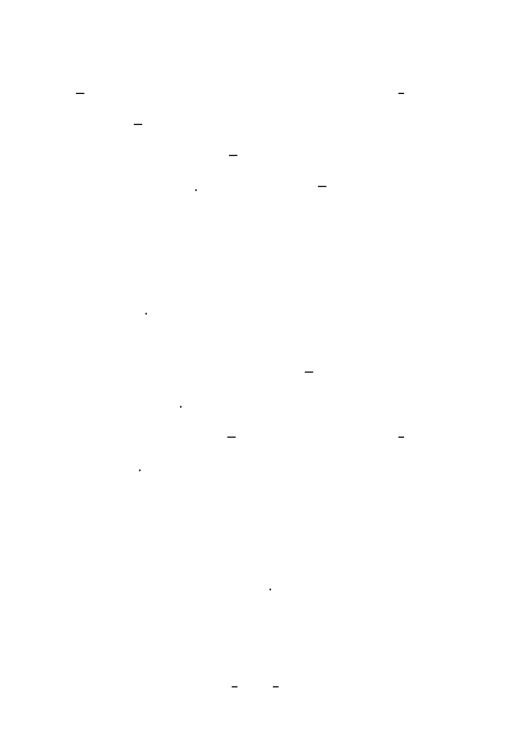
:

-

()

" () /)

. (



.() ()) (

•

•

: -

.()

· ()

(:) -

_ _

() "

.

.

/)

. (



.

.

.

. ()

()

. – (

() ()





.() ())) (

() () .() () () () .()

.()

.

.

. // " ()

. // :

•) (.

.() () .() () _ () ()

. //

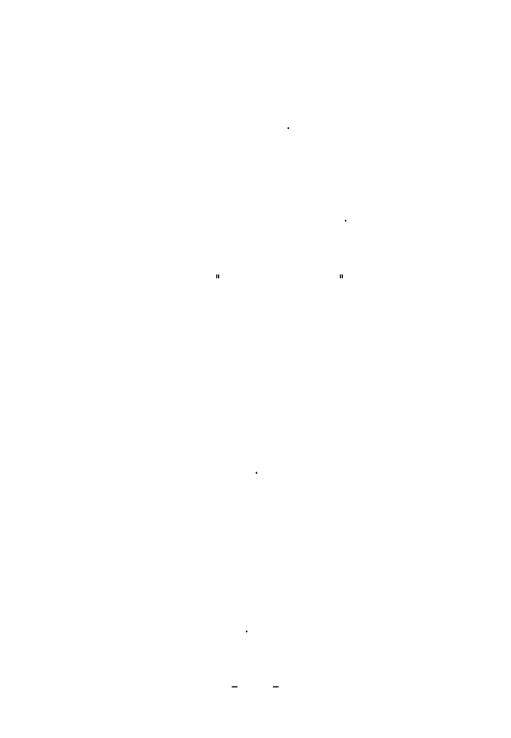
() () ()

.

(

•

.(



() ()

=

.()

European Commission (External Relations), Euro () Mediterranean Partnreship, Barcelona Declaration and , -

.

.

Work Programme, Barcelona, - / / .

) (• .
/

· ()

п ()

. – (/)



. ()

•

·

.

:) . – (

()) .(

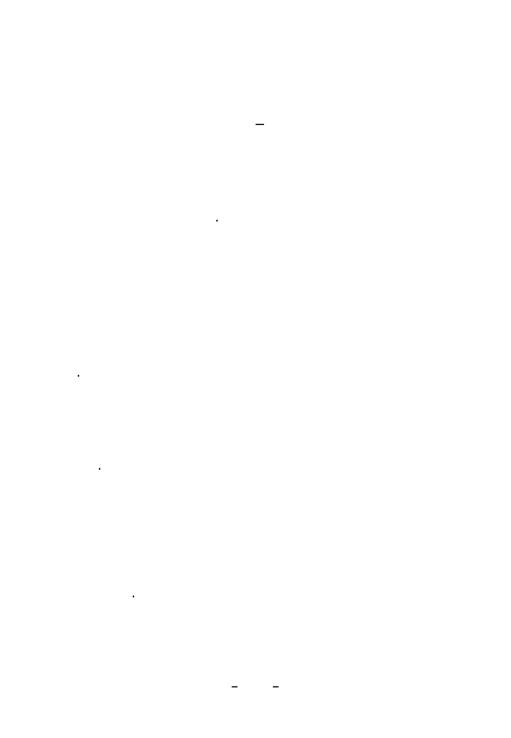
) ()

.

.

•





•

.

.

() ()

(/)

() .()

. ()

.

.

1 .(:) (

)

.(–

.(

_ _

(
)
.(

•

.

•

/ /

()

• / /



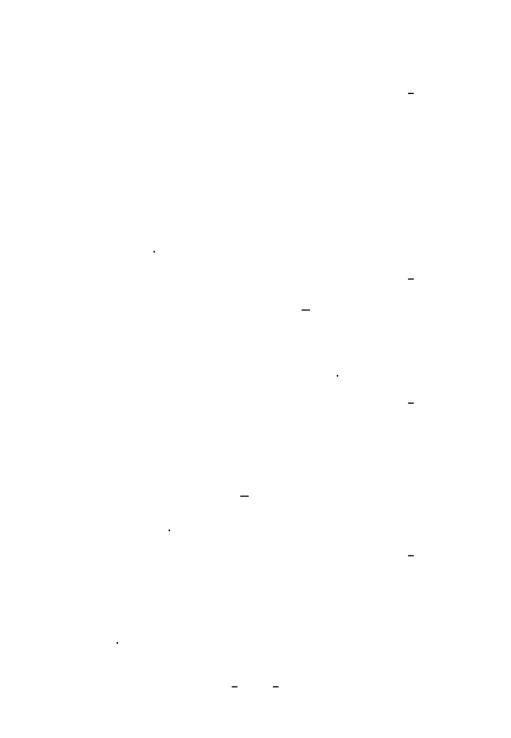
. / / :

.() ...

: ()

·





. () .(• :

		·	
·			
·			





.() () : :

: -

.

: -

_

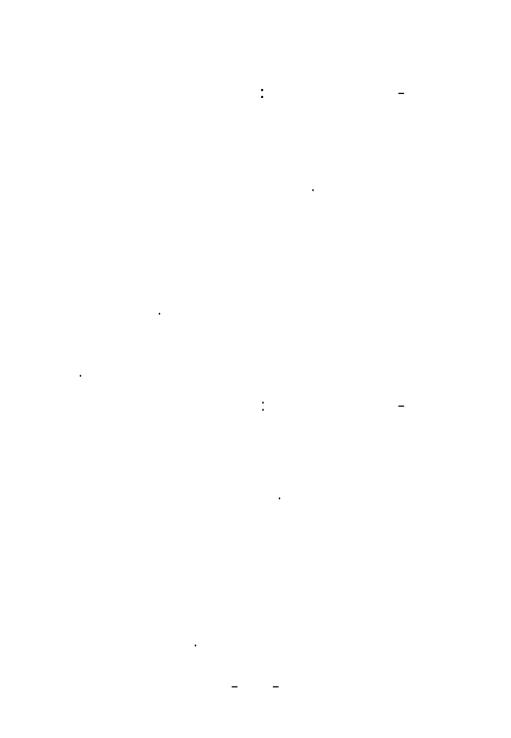
.) (

> · : -

)) (

.

.



: -

.

.

()

: ()

. – (:)



.() () .() () :

()

: -

•

:

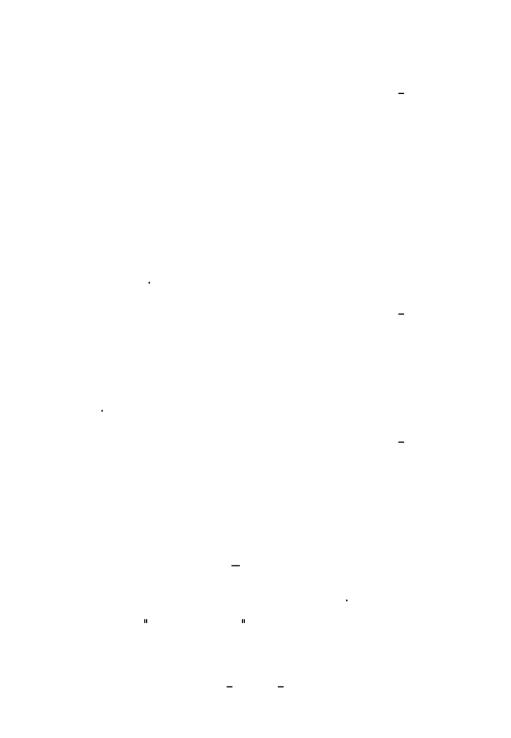
: ()

. – (:)

.(Linkage Politics)

	-	-		

.() () () :) . – (





: ()

•

.()

: " ()

. :

. . . .

.()

: ()

. - (:)

(() .()

.()

()

. //

: ()

_ _ .

_

.

•

_ _

.

.() () ____.

.

.()

" ()

· ·

. .

_ ()

. - (/)



.()

: ": () II

. ()

·

.

.

()

. (

. ()

. ()

()

· (;) ; ()

.

: -

.

•

/

() "

.

.

: " ()

. – (/

.() () .(

.()(

•

· ()

•

. - ()

:) : . (

		:	
		·	
:			



		٠	
	-	-	

.() () /)

.(.() () .(

.()

·

·

. - (:)

. () ...

.

.

.

•

•

()

_ _

.() () (

.()

" ()

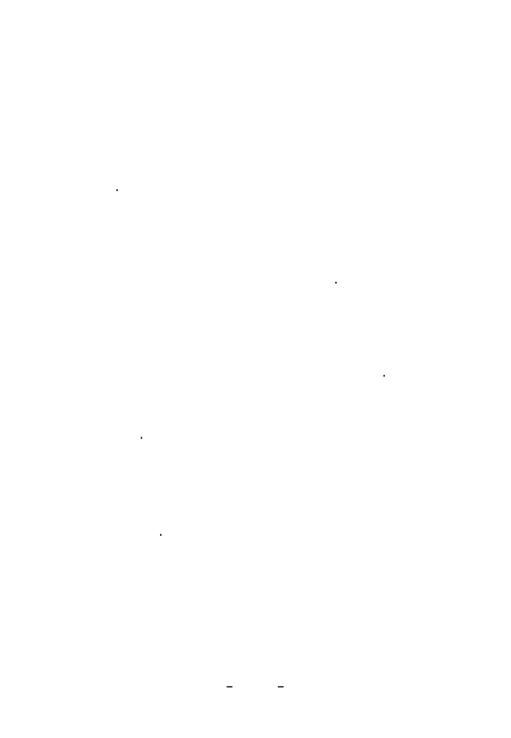
- (

. () ...) -:(

. () .) (

•

•



. -

•

. ()

·

_ _

.()

.

.

: " ()

:) .(

. (

-: ()

•

•

•

•		
·		

.()

-

.

" : ()
) " .(

.() () .() : ()

.(.() .(() = : , – (

	.()(
()
. ()(·)
п	" ()
:)	. (

: . / : . • • . /

.()... .(

. " ()

: -

.

· ()

.

			()
	-	-		

.() () :)

	•			
·				
		-	-	

. ()

.

•

.

: ()

:) .(

.()

()

=

	-	-	

:()

·

•

:

.

: : ()

. – "

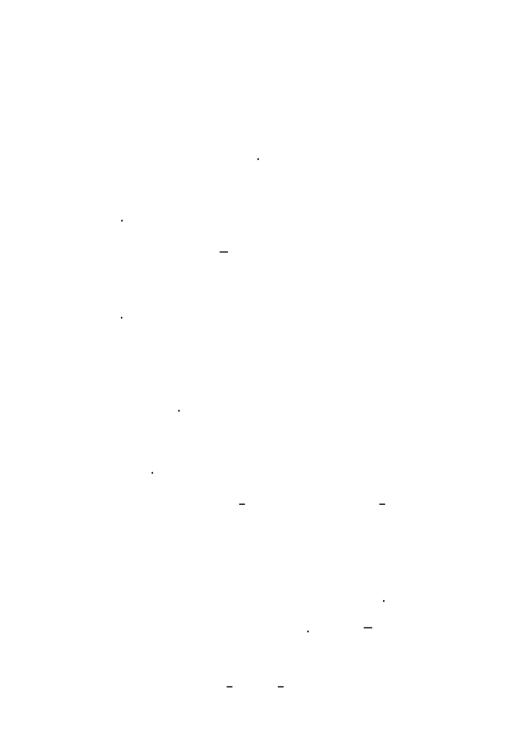
_ _

•

)

(

•



)
(
,
)
(.(: .

- -

•

الفصل الثاني

بيئة النظم السياسية العربية

() . • • •



.() () .() () .()

.

_ _

. ()

.

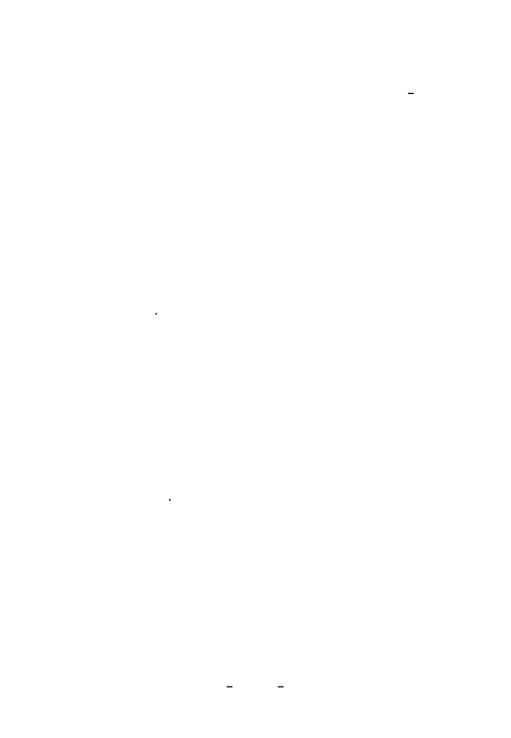
.

.

: ()

:) . – (





	•	r

()) ()) (.(

.

.()(

·

•

()

.

·			
	-	-	



		/		
		:		
			·	
	-	-		

)		(
		(

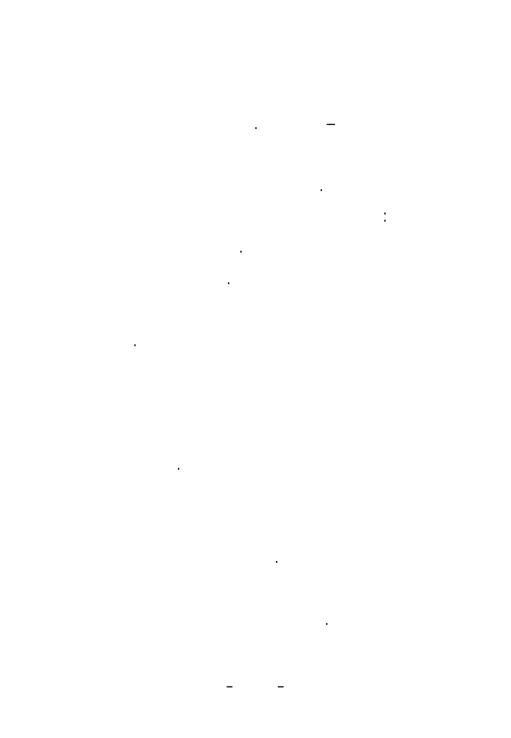
		·		
	/			
	_		_	
			п	п
	-	_		

.()

/) - (. .

_ _

.



. / /

) .(

. / /

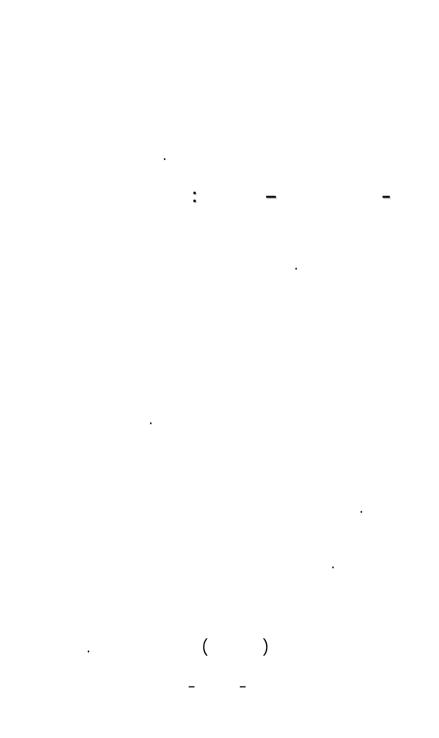
.

.()

- : =

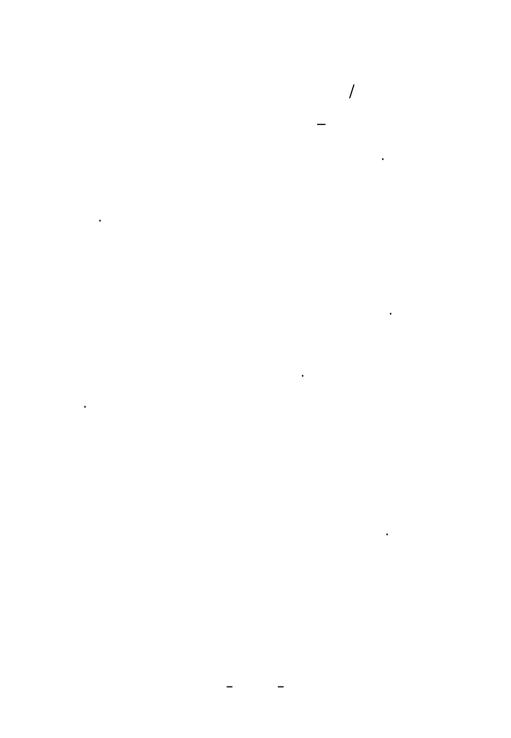
": ()

= : " – . –





.() ())



: - -

" " " " : .

.

) (

.

.

•

.

.()

: ()

. – (

_ _



.() () (

.() ()

: - -•

·

.

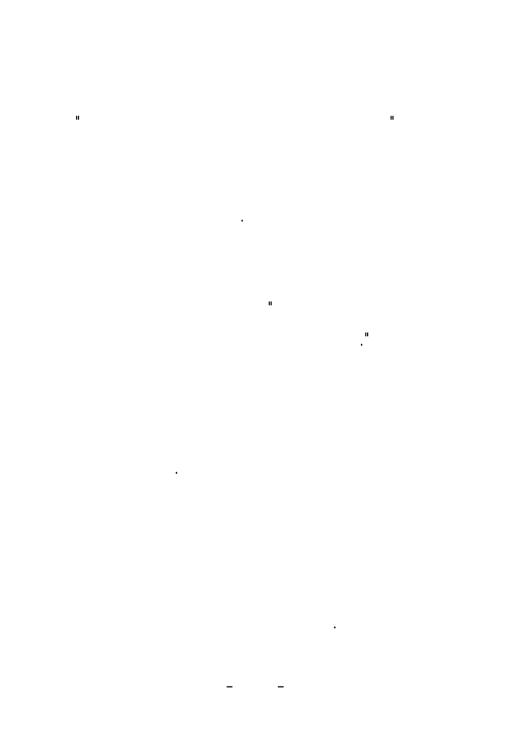
• • / · . ()

•

.

- (/)

. -



) . (

, () .()

.(.(.() ()

.() () (:)

- . -

)

•

•

· .(

·

.

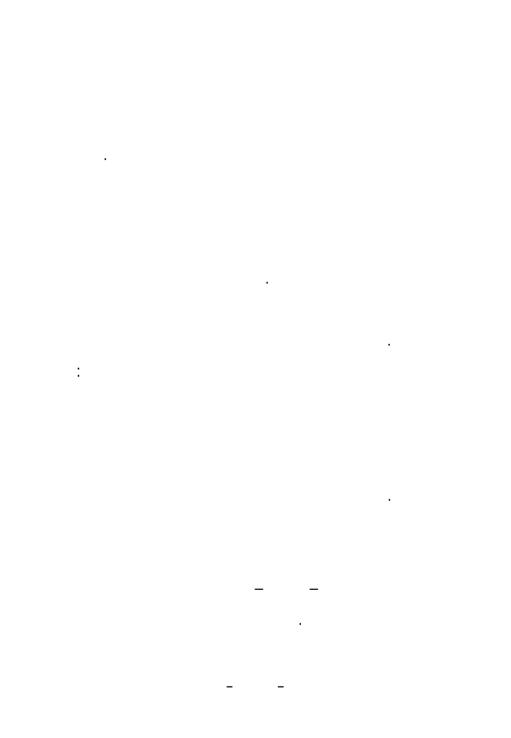
•

. ()

: " ()

·) ()

. (





.() .() ()

.(

()

11

•

.

.

()

"()" ()

: :

_ _

() () () .()

·			
•			
		-	
	-		

-. :

.

.

()

·

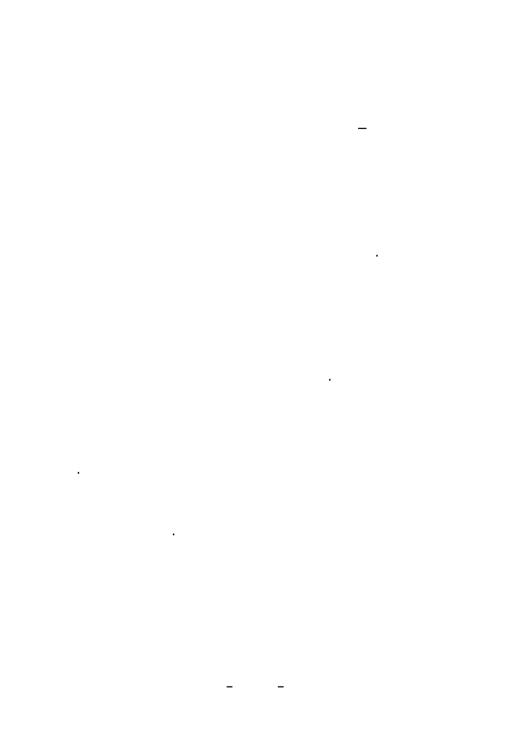
) () .(

•

.

.() () ()





.() () (

= (: :) - (

·
.
.
()
:

•

•			
٠			
)			
	-	-	

() ()

II .() " ()

) :) ((

.(

. . .

. ()

·

•

_ _



		. ()

•

•

.

:

.

.

(

(-)

.

-:

. .

_

(-)

_ _

•

.()

: ()

-:)

.(



. (

· ()

:(]

•

.() : () (

-

. "

()

. / /

.() .() () ()

) .(\) .(.(.() () . //

_

·

. ()

.

" " ()

. – (/)

.() () ()

(]

.()(() -1

) . () (,

()

_ _

-) - (

·

1

.

=

.

.() ()

()

. (

.

() () ()



; ;

.

· :

:

.

: ()

. –

• . : .()



... (

.

/ ...

•

(

)

п

•

.

	/	
	/	
	,	
-	-	

· .()

: ()
: ()

. – ()

) " " (.() " "

_ _

(.⁽⁾(()

·		
·		

)

(

·

· ()

: ()

· -

.()

.()

())

(

.(... .() () : :) . (

.()

Manfred Halpern, "Egypt and the New Middle ()
Class: Reaffirmation and New Explorations,"
Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol.
. no. (January), pp. -

	•			
		-		

.() () :)

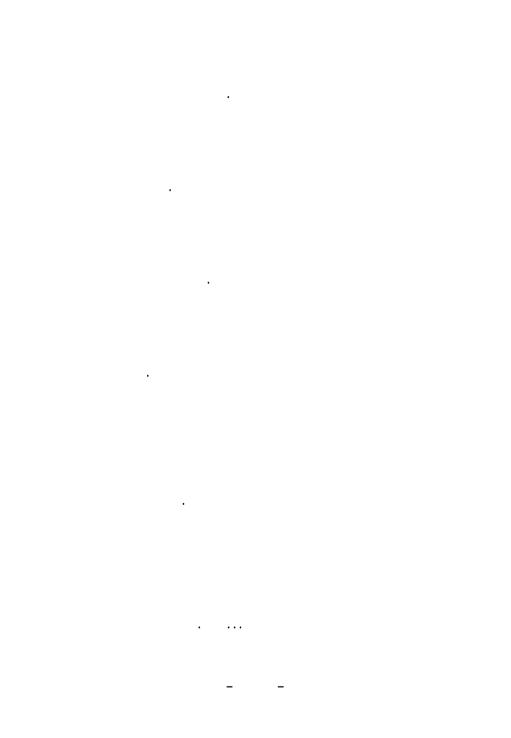
	(

.()((] ()

• :

	ı				
:					
		-	-		

.() ()



. – ()

.() () ()

: ()

.(

.()

.

-- /

.

:

. / /

.

(] ()

			-	
_		_		
	-	-		

			/	
	_	_		

.() () : -

.

= :) . – (

```
Peter H.: ()

Merkl, Modern Comparative Politics, Modern

Comparative Plitics Series (New York: Holt,
Rinehart and Winston, [ )), pp. – ;
:
: )
: - (
( : )
```

() "

.() ()

-	
·	
·	

				·	
			()
U	.()		: ()
		((-)	:

(Parochial) (Subject) .(Participant)

.()

Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic () Culture; Politicial Attitudes and Democracy in Five

•

•

Nations (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press,

), pp. – , – and –

. ()(Identity Crisis) ()

- -

Merkl, Modern Comparative Politics, p.

()

.() () .() ()

•

·

·



.

· ()

·

. – (

•

,

•

.()

" () . (/)

.() () .() " () .() (,)
) .()) () ()



.() ((.⁽⁾(() .

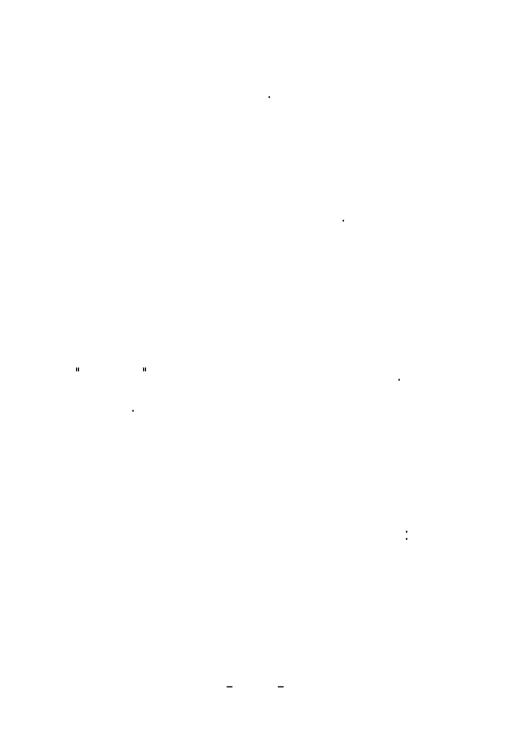
" ()

•

_ _

ı ı .() .() () : ()





: -

•

.

.

-

:

.

. /

/ . . ()

•

.() () :)

=

(

:)

:)

. (

.() () .() () .()

·

.

•

_ _



.()

ı ()

.(/) ()

.() // ()



.()

. //

.() () .() : ()

Blandin Rulleau, "La Nouvelle constitution," () =

.()

```
Maghreb-Machrek ( eme trimester ), p. ;

(. .]: )
```



, n

.

• . / : () () II u u .

•



.
..
..
..
..
..
..

. " .



() "

:)

1 / : :

" / /

. – (/)

.

-

.

.

.

. ()

.()

() () .

.(-

.()

·		

.()

.

_ _

.

) " ()

.(–

- -

()

) - (()

.() .() " George E. Deluray, ed., World Encyclopedia of ()

Political Systems and Parties, vols. (New York:

Facts on File,).

.] ((.

- -

.() () п

)

.()

-.

:

." " :

· () "

. – " – " ()

_ _

п	·			
		."		
)		:	(

-, , , , , , (

.

- -

()

.

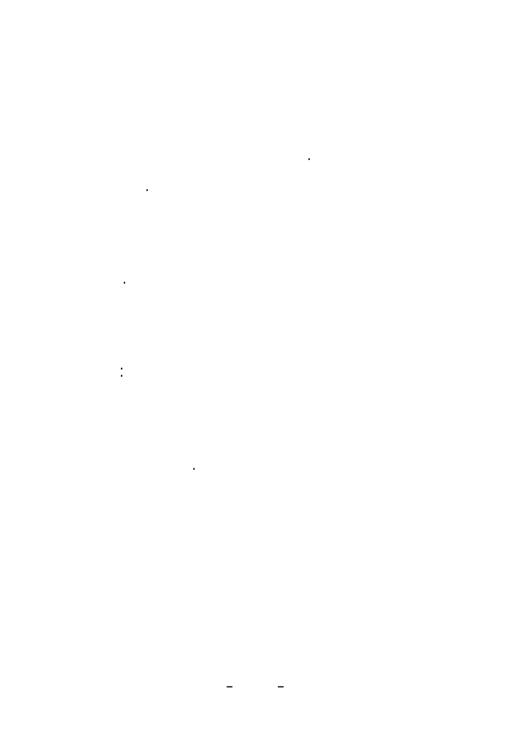
: ()

· . -

_ _

•				
•				
		•		
•				
	•			

.()(()



): .() .() ()



. – – .(

•

_ _

· —

.()

)

- (

:) . – (

- -

```
(National Interest)
 .( ) "
```





.() () .

()

.

_ _

) () .(

п

•

.() .

.() () .

...

-

.

:)

_ _

.()

()

		()	
	п		и	

.

.() .() .() () () ()



.()

Middle East, no. (March), p. , and ()

Mohamed Tozy, "Islam et etat au Maghreb," Maghreb –

Machrek (October – novembre), p. .

- -

			-	
•				
	-	-		

•

и и

.

•

•

. –

.()

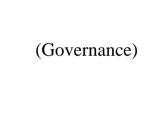
•

.()

()

:) (

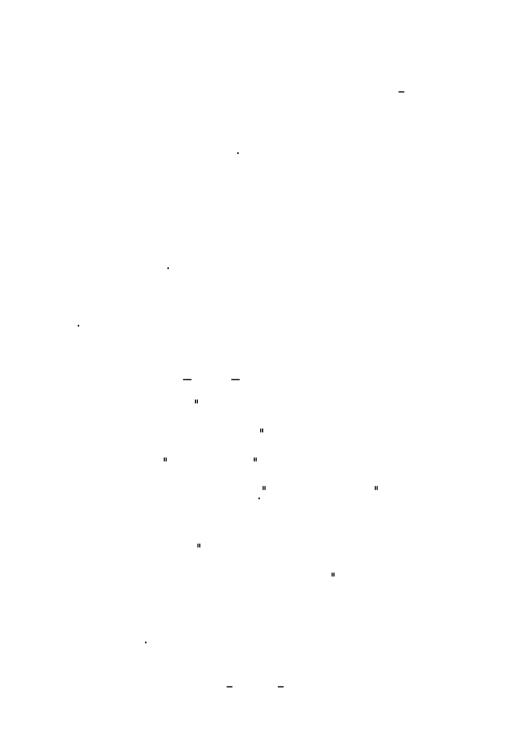




() • • ()

())		
(.()	())	(
					:			-	
						(
)							
/)	-	_	-	(,		_	()

.(II п .() () :) (



.()

. – " ()

.() .() " () .(. / / ()

() -

•

.()

Bryan S. Turner, Marx and the End of Orientalism, ()
Controversies in Sociology; (London; Boston:

Allen and Unwin,), pp. - and -

· ()

.

.

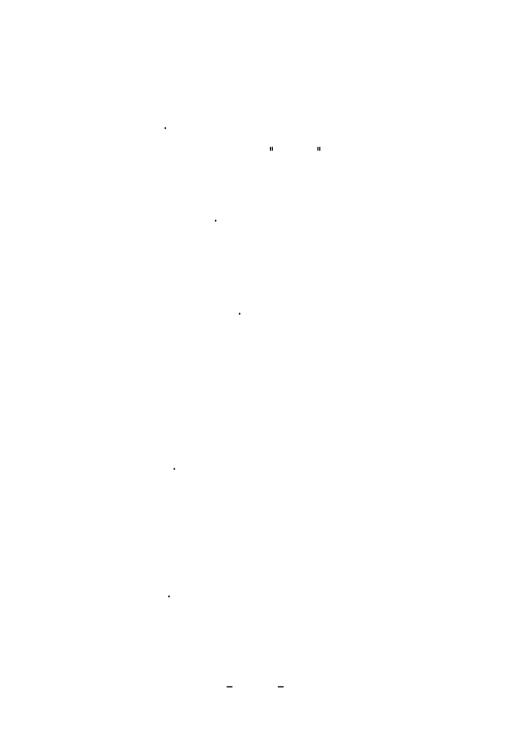
· : ()

()

п

. () "

Geraint Parry, Political Elites, Studies in Political ()
Science; (London: Allen and Unwin,), p. .



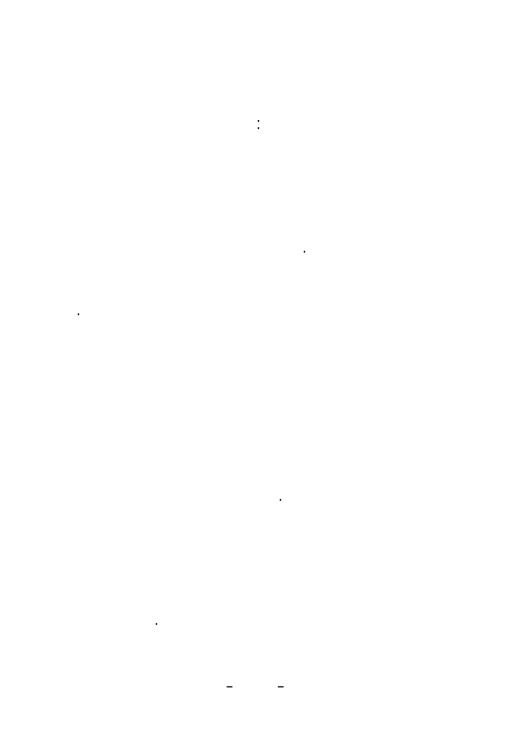
()

Vilfredo Parito, The Mind and Sopciety, edited by Arthur ()
Livingston; translated by Andrew Bongiorno and Arthur
Livingston, with the advice and active cooperation by
James Harvey Rogers, vols. (New York: Harcourt,
Brace and Company, [) p. .

_ .

.()

Parry, Ibid, pp. – . ()

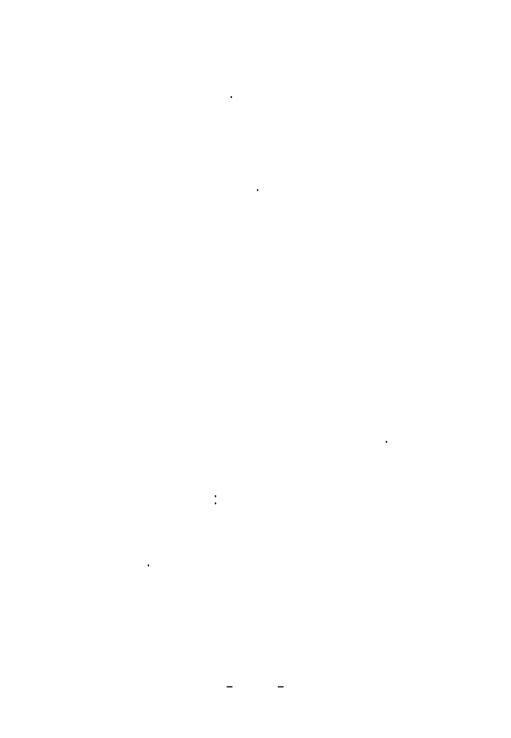


п			
	-	-	

. (1)
:
(Traditional – Adaptive Elites)

.(/)

(Modernizing -Reformist Elites) (Revolutionary -Mobilization Elites)





.() ()

:)

: .

" - " (" (" (

. - (

(Political

Patronage)

(Client) (Patron)

.()

" ()

_ _

: -

.

()

•

n

· () "

· ()

· ()

· ()

· ()

Maurice Duverger, Political : ()
Parties, Their Organization and Activity in the

Modern State, translated by Barbara and Robert North with a foreword by D. W. Brogan (London: Methuen; New York: Wiley, [)).

_ .

	:	
	·	

·()

()

·()

()

Kay Lawson, "When Linkage Fails," in: Kay Lawson () and Peter H. Merkl, eds., When Parties Fail: Emeging Alternative Organizations (Prnceton, NJ: Princeton University Press,), p. .

.()

_

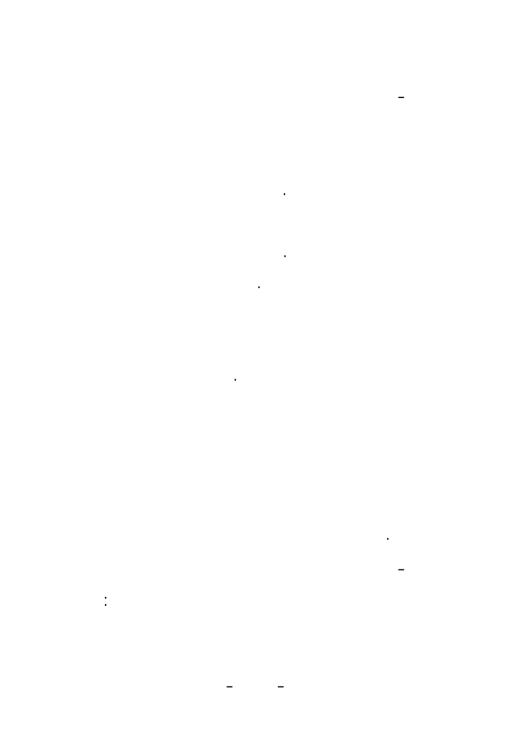
Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, "Political Parties in the () Middle East," (Unpublished Lectures), pp. – .

_

		-	
	·		

) () .(

(

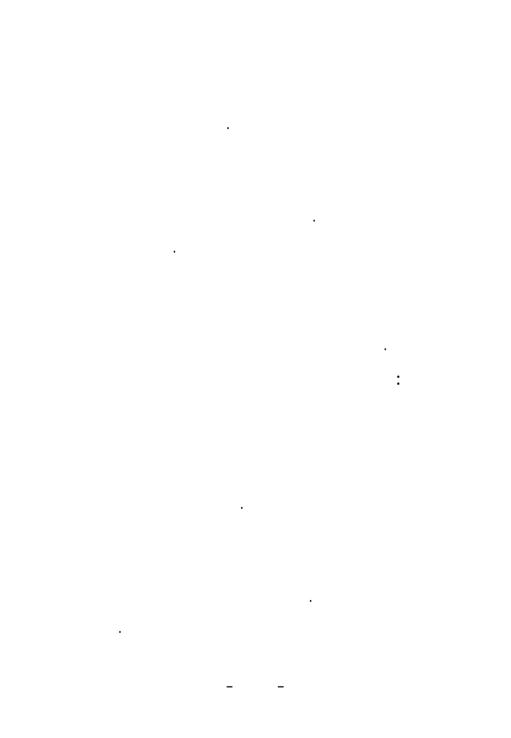


		-
·		
•		

·				
	_	_		







٠		
•		



. / • и и .

.



.() () .(

· ()

: ()

•			
		п	
		п	

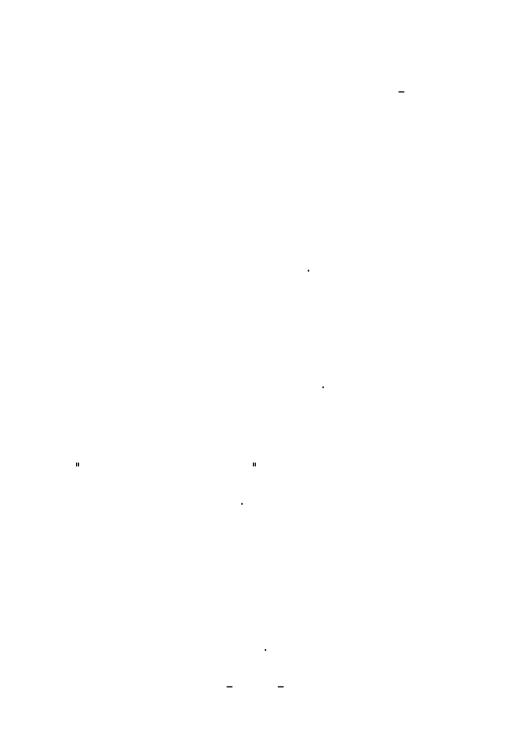
.() () . //

•

·

.()

/ " ()



.() " () Henry Barkey, "Republic of Lebanon," in: George ()

E. Delury, ed., World Encyclopedia of Political

.()

```
Systems and Parties, vols., <sup>nd</sup> ed.(New York:

Facts on File, ), p. .

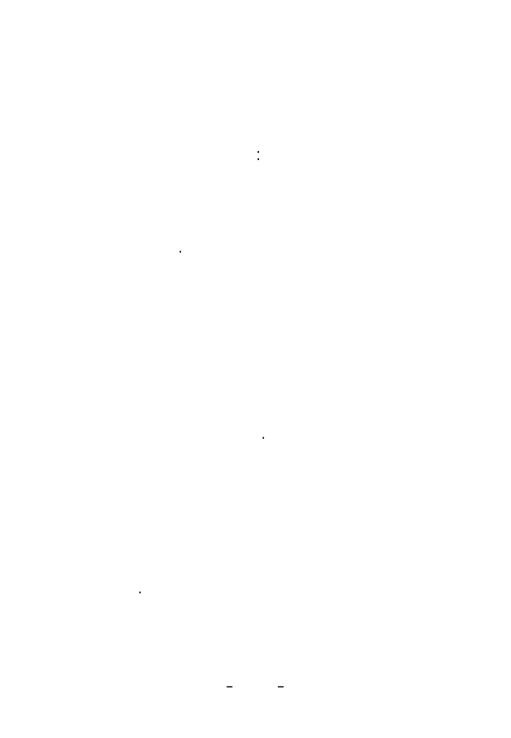
( )
```

.()

()

(Civil Society) .()

()



(NGO)

. .) (... .(

.() :() () :) ((] ()

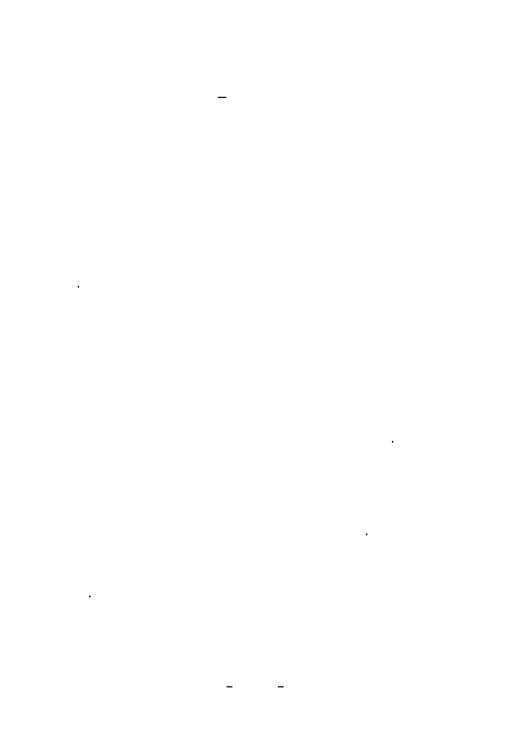
. ()

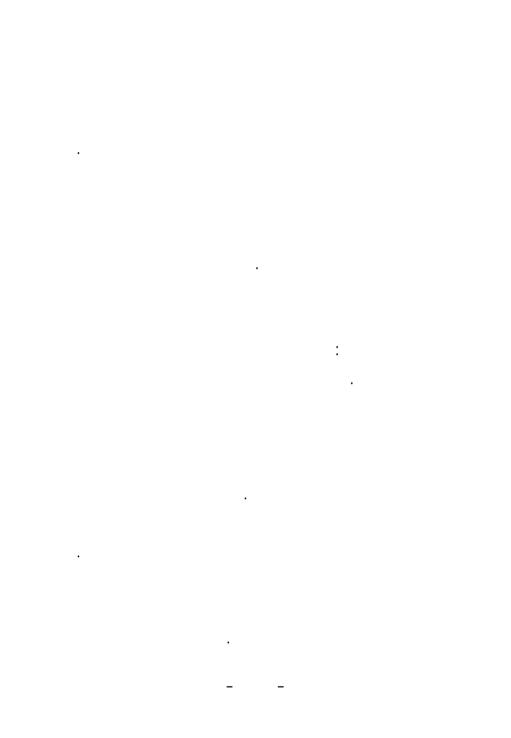
. ()

_ _

·
,)
, (

•





.

(,)

.

·			
		•	

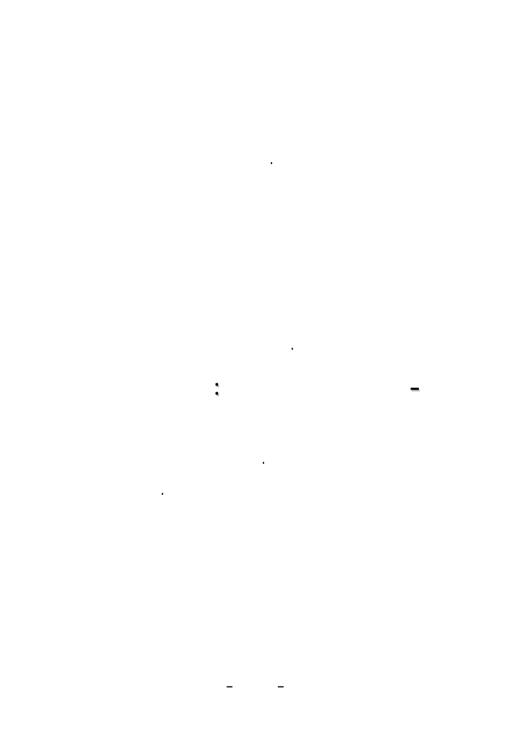
· -

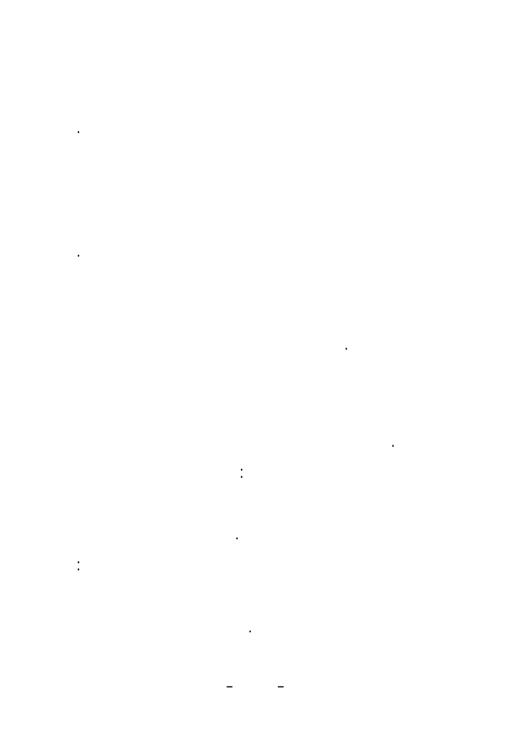
: : ()

1 –

.()

_ _





·

: .

11 11

п п .

.

_ _

• :) (.(:

	•				
		-	-		

.()

. – (

()

. ()

.

.

:

()

()

```
Samuel P. Huntignton, The Third Wave: ()
Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century, Julian J.
Rothbaum Disinguished Lecture Series; v. (Norman,
OK: University of Oklahoma Press,
:

( : )
Patrick Dunleavy and Brendan O'Leary, Theories of the
State: The Politics of Liberal Democracy (New York:
Meredith Press, ), and Peter F. Drucker, "The New
Pluralism," Dialogue (March ), pp. – .
```

_ -

		·
()	
	ı	

, : , :) , () .⁽⁾() , (

· ()

: ()

. - (:)

() .()

- -

()

.() () : -

()

.

.

_ _

.()

Michel Camau, "Trois questions a propos de la () democratization dans le Monde Arab," Egypt – Monde Arabe, no. ().

- .

·			
		_	
		-	
	•		

.

.

.

. ()

: ()

.(...

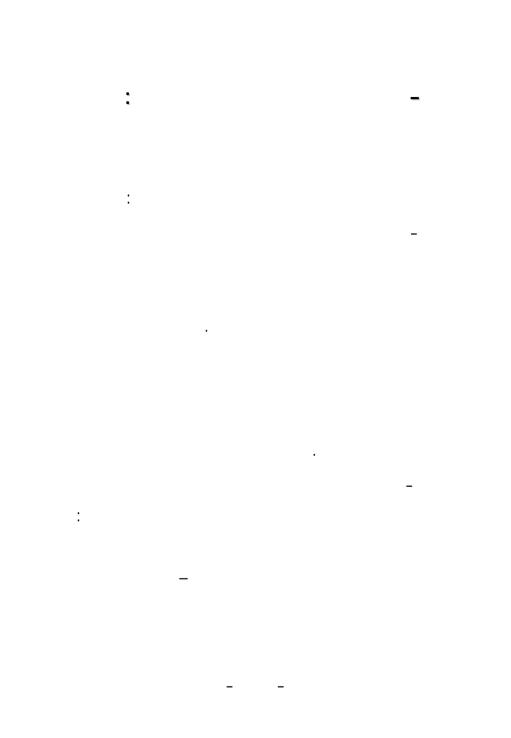
=

. (/)

.() () .

: (:) -. - -

. – :



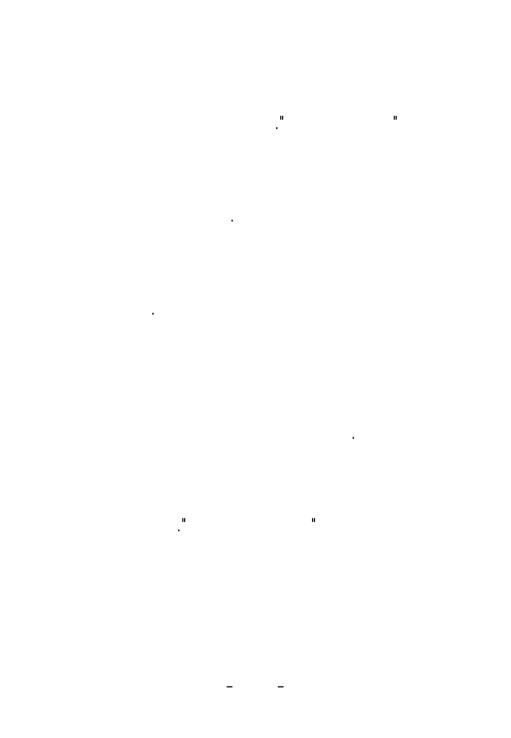
		-	

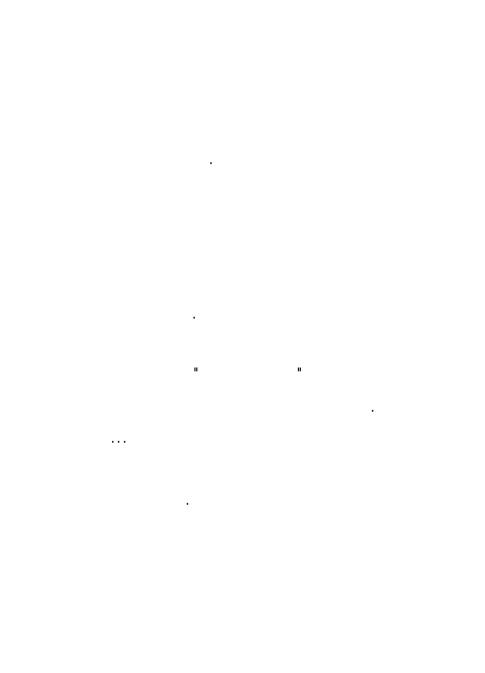






()





.()(())

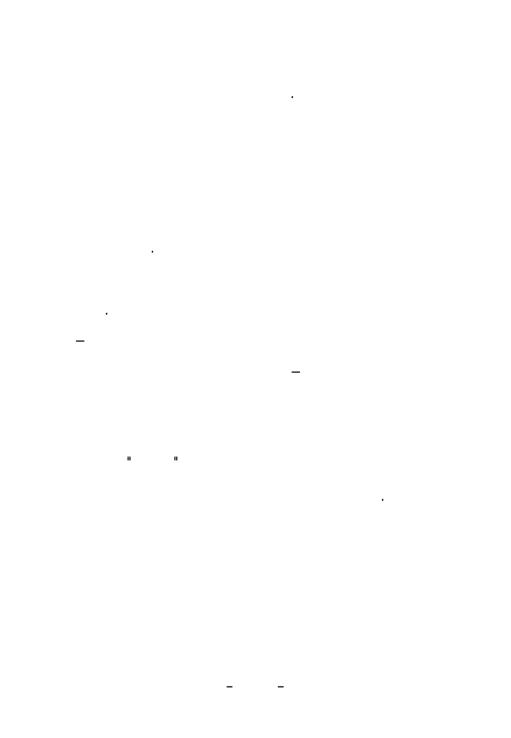
.

. ()

Robert Neuman, "This Next Disorderly Half ()

Century: Some Proposed Remedies," Washington

Quarterly (Winter), pp. – .



	·				
·					
)	
		-	-		

.(•)

.(

.() () •

.()()

. // : ()

: -

.
/

•

()

.

()

: ()

· :

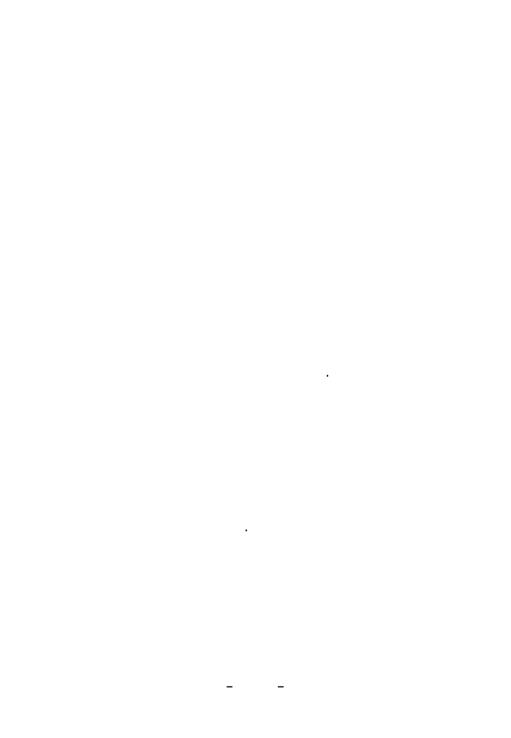
: , – (. – (

.(–

.() .() ()

.

•



.) .

.

: .

					:	
						:
						-
.(•	·).	
			٠			-
	: :				·	-
		:		.()	-
	.().	

.() ____ -: . .() -: .() : . --

. –
. :
. () . :

. -

: . .()

: . -: .

· -: . :

.(: :	()) -
.(:	_	: .).	- - -
.()		; . ,	-

. - : ... - ... - ... - ... - ... - ... - ... - ... - ... - ... - ... - ... : ... - ... : : .(. - : . .). .(. . -. -. :

. . . - . . : .

: . -.

.().

: .()

. :

.() -: .

· . - :

) . .(

· : . -

. -. : . - : . : . : . -). .(: . -: . .().

.(

· - : .) .

. -

: .().

. : .

· -

: : . :

•

: . - . : -

.().

: . . .(

.

.

· - : .

: -

. :

: -

.

.(. .)

: : -

, -

: . .

.

•

: . . .

: . . -

•

· - - .

. -

· : .

. -: .

.() -: .

. -: . :

· () - :

. -:

. . - . : : . -

.

: -

· : -

: .

· .() - :

·

.(. -: . -

: -

) . .(

.

: .

.() -

: . . -

				: -
		.()
				-
				:
			:	
			.()	-
•	.()	
	•			:
				:
				-
:				()
				/ /
".				"
	/		:	

:()



". . / : ". . . / /
. / /

: ". . /

: ". / . _ _

. / / : ".

: ". -. / / : ".

. / / : ". ... " . -. / / : . : ". - : . / . / / : . // . . /

. / / : ". . . . -

: ". . /

: -". :

· /
" . –

". - :

". –

· :

. /

· . -

: ". — / . / _ _

: ". . /

. / / : .

:	· .		-
		/ /	
	u		-
	/	:	
			-
	. / / :		
:	" . :		-
	•	/ /	
			-
	. / / :		
	. "		-
	•		
	. /		
:		//	-

/	:			/			-
:						/	
/	: _	. /		" .		".	-
:	".()				•	" . / /	-
:			/ /	:	· · :	/ /	-
	и		/			:	-

: -

· : . .

. :

· : :)

.(

. –

:

: - -: -. : . : -. : . . / – . /
/ -

. / _ _ _ _

" .) ".

> " . :

. /

.(

-)

.(

".(

) ".	_		".			-
, .			.(
) ".					-
.(u .			_
.() ".		:		
: ".					١	-
:		.()	_
·	.() "		•		

-		,		п			-
п		.(: ()	п		
			.(_	•)	-
		.(" . —	:) ".		-
) ".						-
	.(-		" .			_
		.() ".			

			п .		_
) ".		
			.(_
.() ".				
			" .) ".		-
		.(/		
:) ".				-
			.(-	
) ".			-
	.(_			

Books:

- Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba.
 The Civic Culture; Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. Princeton,
 NJ: Princeton University Press,
- Binder, Leonard (et al.) Crises and Sequences in Political Development: Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press,
 . (Studies in Political Development;).
- Delury, George E. (ed.) World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties. New York: Facts on File, ;
 nd ed. . vols.
- Dunleavy, Patrick and Brendan O'Leary.
 Theories of the State: The Politics of Liberal Democracy. New York: Meredith Press,

- Duverger, Maurice. Political Parties, Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State. Translated by Barbara and Robert North with a foreword by D. W. Brogan. London: Methuen; New York: Wiley,
 ().
- Huntington, Samuel P. The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, . (Julian J. Rothbaum Distinguished Lecture Series; v.).
- International Monetray Fund (IMF). International World Economic Outlook. Washington, DC: IMF, .
- Korany, Bahgat and Ali e. Hillal Dessouki. The Foreign Policies of Arab States. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, .
- Lawson, Kay and Petre H. Merkl (eds.)
 When Parties Fail: Emerging Alternative
 Organizations. Princeton, NJ: Princeton
 University Press,

- McGrew, Anthony G. and Paul g. Lewis. Global Politics: Globalization and the Nation – state. Camridge (England): Polity Press; Oxford (England); Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers,
- Merkl, Peter H. Modern Comparative Politics. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, (). (Modern Comparative Politics Series).
- Parito, Vilfredo. The Mind and Society.
 Edited by Arthur Livingston; translated by Andrew Bongiorno and Arthur Livingston, with the advice and active cooperation of James Harvey rogers. New York Harcourt,
 Brace and Company, (). vols.
- Parry, Geraint. Political Elites. London:
 Allen and Unwin, . (Studies in Plotical Science;).
- Roxborough, Ian. Theories of Underdevelopment. Atlantic Highlands,
 NJ: Humanities Press, . (Critical social Studies).

- Todora, Michael P. Economic Development in the Third World. th ed. New York: Longman, .
- Turner, Bryan S. Marx and the End of Orientalism. London; Boston: Allen and Unwin, . (Controversies in Sociology;).

Periodicals:

- Camau, Michel. "Trois questions à propos de la démocratization dans le Monde Arabe."
 Egypte – Monde Arabe: no. , . .
- Dessouki, Ali H. "Globalization and the Two Spheres of Security." Washington Quarterly: Autumn .
- Drucker, Peter F. "The New Pluralism." Dialogue: March .
- Halpern, Manfred. "Egypt and the New Middle Class: Reaffirmation and New Explorations." Comparative Studies in Society and History: vol. , no. , January .
- Middle East: No. , Marach

- Neuman, Robert. "This Next Disorderly Half Century: Some Proposed Remedies."
 Washington Quarterly: Winter .
- Rulleau, Blandin. "La Nouvelle constitution." Maghreb Machrek: eme trimester
- Tozy, Mohamed. "Islam et état au Maghreb." Maghreb Marchrek: October November